

Message Text

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R 021213Z MAY 78
FM AMCONSUL SAO PAULO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8481
INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 SAO PAULO 1278

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

E.O. 11652: N/
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, BR
SUBJ: VIEWS OF GEN. FIEUEIREDO REFLECTED IN PRESS INTERVIEWS

RER: BRASILIA 2931; BRASILIA 2936 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY AND COMMENT: GEN. JOAO BAPTISTA FIGUEIREDO GAVE FIVE
INTERVIEWS DURING THE WEEK OF APRIL 3, WHICH CULMINATED IN
HIS OFFICIAL NOMINATION BY ARENA AS ITS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
(REFTELS). THE INTERVIEWS WERE GIVEN TO "ISTO E", "VEJA" AND
"MANCHETE" MAGAZINES AND TO "O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO" AND
"FOLHA DE SAO PAULO" DAILIES. EARLIER, IN FEBRUARY,
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FIGUEIREDO GRANTED INTERVIEWS TO "JORNAL DO BRASIL AND "O
GLOBO". THE "FOLHA" INTERVIEW WAS THE MOST FAR RANGING.
ALTHOUGH WRITTEN IN QUESTION AND ANSWER FORM, THE REPORTERS
IN FACT RECONSTRUCTED A CONVERSATION IN WHICH THEY WERE NOT
PERMITTED TO USE A TAPE RECORDER OR TO TAKE NOTES. THERE HAVE
BEEN ALMOST NO COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE INTERVIEW'S FIDELITY OR
THE COLLOQUIAL FLAVOR AND SYNTAX OF MANY OF FIGUEIREDO'S

RESPONSES. FIGUEIREDO TACITLY ADMITTED THE ACCURACY OF THE "FOLHA" INTERVIEW IN REMARKS TO "VEJA", BUT HE DEFENDED HIMSELF STATING THAT IT WAS MORE OF A CONVERSATION THAN AN INTERVIEW SAYING THAT IN A CONVERSATION ONE BECOMES ANGRY AND DOES NOT MEASURE ONE'S WORDS CAREFULLY. ALL OF THE INTERVIEWS CONCENTRATE ON THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION, WITH SOME ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC SUBJECTS AND A FEW REFERENCES TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THE ONLY PART OF THE INTERVIEWS THAT CAUSED IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS FOR FIGUEIREDO WAS HIS REFERENCE TO SENATE MINORITY LEADER PAULO BROSSARD (BRASILIA 2847), FOR WHICH HE WAS OBLIGED TO APOLOGIZE PUBLICLY. HOWEVER, THE OVERALL REACTION TO THE INTERVIEWS WAS SUCH THAT FIGUEIREDO'S STAFF DECIDED THAT HE WOULD NOT GIVE INTERVIEWS FOR A WHILE, AND WHEN HE DID, IT WOULD BE ON THE BASIS OF WRITTEN ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS.

IN THE INTERVIEWS, FIGUEIREDO DEFENDED DEMOCRACY ADAPTED TO BRAZILIAN CONDITIONS, WHILE ASSERTING THAT CLASSIC LIBERALISM IS DEAD. HE EXPRESSED DISTRUST OF THE AVERAGE CITIZEN'S ABILITY TO CHOOSE THE PRESIDENT AND OF THE GENUINNESS OF PUBLIC OPINION. FIGUEIREDO CHARACTERIZED HIS PRESIDENCY AS A TRANSITION PERIOD, CONTINUING THE SLOW, GRADUAL AND SURE DEMOCRATIC OPENING OF THE GEISEL ADMINISTRATION. HOWEVER, ON CURRENT GUBERNATORIAL SELECTIONS, FIGUEIREDO STATED THAT HE WOULD CHOOSE THEM IN ORDER TO HELP ARENA WIN THE NOVEMBER CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS. HE TALKED ABOUT AN MDB VICTORY IN NOVEMBER AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO DEMOCRATIC CHANGE BECAUSE OF POSSIBLE MILITARY OPPOSITION TO THE UNCLASSIFIED

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MDB'S POLICY STANDS. ON AMNESTY, FIGUEIREDO THOUGHT THAT THE LIFTING OF ARTICLE 185 OF THE CONSTITUTION, WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE RETURN TO PUBLIC OFFICE OF CASSATED PERSONS AFTER THEIR TERM OF PROSCRIPTION HAD EXPIRED, WAS POSSIBLE. FIGUEIREDO ALSO STATED THAT HE WAS IN FAVOR OF POLITICAL PARTY REFORM, INCREASING THE NUMBER OF PARTIES. HE WAS CONCERNED TO JUSTIFY THE LEGITIMACY OF HIS SELECTION BY GEISEL, STATING THAT IT WAS "REVOLUTIONARY". FIGUEIREDO FAVORED COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND A LIMITED RIGHT TO STRIKE FOR UNIONS AND ON-CAMPUS POLITICAL ACTIVITY FOR STUDENTS. HE MADE A SERIES OF STATEMENTS ABOUT BUSINESS, SUPPORTING BOTH PRIVATE AND STATE ENTERPRISE. FIGUEIREDO CONFIRMED THAT AGRICULTURE WOULD HAVE A HIGH PRIORITY IN HIS ADMINISTRATION AND THAT FOREIGN INVESTMENT WOULD HAVE A LIMITED ROLE IN THAT AREA. IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FIGUEIREDO ENDORSED CURRENT POLICIES "WITH INFLEXIBILITY".

THIS MESSAGE SHOULD BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE REPORTING ON FIGUEIREDO'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH AT THE ARENA CONVENTION (REFTELS) AND BRASILIA A-17 ON PRESS SPECULATION ON FIGUEIREDO'S ECONOMIC VIEWS. FIGUEIREDO'S RESPONSES ARE BASED ON THE "FOLHA" INTERVIEW, EXCEPT WHERE NOTED. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

1. ON DEMOCRACY. FIGUEIREDO STATED THAT THERE ARE VARIOUS KINDS OF DEMOCRACY, BUT IT WAS CLEAR THAT "LIBERALISM IS DEAD". HOWEVER, IN AN EARLIER INTERVIEW TO JORNAL DO BRASIL, FIGUEIREDO STATED: "I DON'T BELIEVE IN CLASSIC LIBERALISM. THE IDEOLOGICAL SITUATION IN THE WORLD HAS SURPASSED CONVENTIONAL LIBERALISM. I CONSIDER MYSELF LIBERAL WITH RESPECT TO INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY OR OF ASSOCIATION. THERE IS LIBERTY FOR ALL, EXCEPT FOR THOSE WHO BREAK THE LAWS. I THINK IT IS MORE APPROPRIATE TO TALK ABOUT INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY THAN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS. THE HARMONIZATION OF LIBERTY WITH SECURITY SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED BY LAW". TO O ESTADO FIGUEIREDO STATED "WE NEED TO SEEK DEMOCRACY IN ITS GLOBAL PRINCIPLES, WITH GUARANTEES FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, HARMONY BETWEEN BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT, POPULAR REPRESENTATION AND LEGITIMACY OF THE RULERS. BUT THIS PROCESS SHOULD BE ADAPTED TO
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BRAZILIAN CONDITIONS AND NECESSITIES". FOLHA REPORTERS QUESTIONED WHETHER MAXIMUM - SECURITY FOR THE STATE DID NOT MEAN MINIMUM SECURITY FOR THE INDIVIDUAL. FIGUEIREDO RESPONDED "BUT SOMETIMES IT HAS TO BE THAT WAY. LOOK, IF IT WASN'T, THERE WOULD NEVER BE ANY WAR BECAUSE WHAT PEOPLE DESIRES WAR? BUT WAR MAY BE NEXESSARY TO DEFEND A SOCIETY". THE REPORTERS THEN ASKED WHAT THE STATE WAS, IF NOT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE. FIGUEIREDO EXPLAINED THAT THE STATE EMERGED TO DEFEND THE PEOPLE AGAINST RIVAL GROUPS. HE ADDED THE STATE MUST ALSO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST THE EXTREMISTS WHO WISH TO DESTROY IT"....

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

THE REPORTERS ASKED FOR FIGUEIREDO'S IDEA OF DEMOCRACY:
"THE BASIC PRINCIPLE IS THAT ALL POWER EMANATES FROM THE PEOPLE.
I DON'T WANT TO SAY RELATIVE DEMOCRACY, BUT THE FACT IS THAT FULL
DEMOCRACY DOES NOT EXIST." FIGUEIREDO STATED THAT HE WAS IN FAVOR
OF THE SEPARATION OF POWERS AND EMPOWERING THE JUDICIARY TO
RESOLVE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE OTHER TWO BRANCHES. HE FAVORED
THE DIRECT ELECTION OF ALL ELECTIVE OFFICIALS EXCEPT THE
PRESIDENT WHO SHOULD BE INDIRECTLY ELECTED BY AN ELECTORAL
COLLEGE, PERHAPS MODELED ON THE U.S. SYSTEM.

THE REPORTERS ASKED FIGUEIREDO HIS OPINION ABOUT DEFECTS IN THE
U.S. SYSTEM: "TO BEGIN WITH, I AM AGAINST LOBBIES. WHEN GENERAL
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MOTORS BEGINS TO FINANCE A SENATOR'S CAMPAIGN, AH, THEN HE WILL
NOT BE A STATE'S REPRESENTATIVE HE WILL BE GENERAL MOTOR'S
REPRESENTATIVE. I CANNOT CONCEIVE OF THIS". FIGUEIREDO TOLD
O ESTADO THAT HE WAS AGAINST THE INDIRECT ELECTION PROVISION OF
THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES DECREED IN APRIL 1977 (FOR GOVERNORS
AND ONE THIRD OF THE SENATE). FOLHA REPORTERS ALLEGED THAT
FIGUEIREDO DID NOT APPEAR TO CONFIDE IN THE PEOPLE'S CAPACITY TO
CHOOSE THEIR LEADERS. FIGUEIREDO REPLIED " THE BRAZILIAN VOTER
DOESN'T HAVE THE (EDUCATIONAL) LEVEL OF THE AMERICAN OR FRENCH
VOTER. DIDN'T GETULIO VARGAS HAVE A BLOODY DICTATORSHIP AND END
UP BEING ELECTED?" THE REPORTERS COUNTERED THAT THE PEOPLE
COULD ONLY LEARN TO VOTE BY VOTING: "IT'S TRUE BUT ALL THIS HAS
TO BE BIT BY BIT. CAN YOU SEE IF IN MANY PLACES IN THE NORTHEAST
A BRAZILIAN CAN VOTE WELL IF HE HAS NO NOTIONS ABOUT HYGIENE?
RIGHT HERE IN BRASILIA, THE OTHER DAY, I MET A SOLDIER FROM GOIAS
WHO HAD NEVER USED A BATHROOM. AND THERE YOU GO TELLING ME THAT
THE PEOPLE ARE PREPARED TO ELECT THE PRESIDENT OF REPUBLIC".
COMMENT: BRAZIL'S FOREMOST SPORTS FIGURE, PELE, MADE SIMILAR
REMARKS LATE LAST YEAR.

2. ON LIBERALIZATION AND CONTINUITY. O ESTADO REPORTED THAT
FIGUEIREDO PLANNED TO FOLLOW PRESIDENT GEISEL'S POLICY OF PROMOTING
A SLOW, GRADUAL AND SURE (DEMOCRATIC) OPENING. ASKED BY ISTO E HOW H

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DEFINED DETENTE (DISTENSAO) AND OPENING"; FIGUEIREDO REPLIED:
"ETYMOLOGICALLY, DETENTE IS TO DIMINISH TENSION. EITHER ONE
RELAXES IT SUDDENLY, AND DETENTE COINCIDES WITH OPENING, OR ONE
DOES THE THING LIKE THE PRESIDENT SAYS, SLOW AND GRADUAL. WHAT
DOES THIS SLOW AND GRADUAL MEAN? I USUALLY SAY THAT DETENTE
HAS TO BE SLOW AND GRADUAL SO NO ONE WILL GET BRUISED. I THINK
THAT SAYS IT ALL, IF YOU WANT TO UNDERSTAND IT". O ESTADO
REPORTED THAT FIGUEIREDO THOUGHT THAT THE IDEOLOGY OF THE
REVOLUTION NEEDED TO BE DEFINED, RECOGNIZING THAT THE FIGHT AGAINST
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SUBVERSION AND CORRUPTION, IN AND OF ITSELF, DOES NOT MAKE A
REVOLUTION. "THE ARMED FORCES ARE RETURNING TO THEIR PROFESIONAL
DUTIES, BUT VIGILANT AND ATTENTIVE, GUARDIANS OF THE INSTITUTIONS...
THE CURRENT PERIOD IS ONE OF TRANSITION, JUST AS MY ADMINISTRATION
WILL BE ONE OF TRANSITION. I BELIEVE I AM THE LAST PRESIDENT
TO BE CHOSEN BY A REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS, ALTHOUGH EVERYTHING
WILL DEPEND ON CONSENSUS, ON UNDERSTANDING, ON THE GOOD WILL OF
ALL. BUT I HOPE THAT WHEN MY SUCCESSION IS DEALT WITH AND IF THE
OPPOSITION PARTIES OR PARTY HAVE A MAJORITY AND PRESENT A CANDIDATE,
THAT CANDIDATE CAN BE NATURALLY ELECTED AND TAKE OFFICE. I
FAVOR INDIRECT ELECTION FOR PRESIDENT..."

3. ON CRITERIA FOR GUBERNATORIAL SELECTIONS. FOLHA REPORTERS
ASKED FOR A "PROFILE" OF THE NEW SAO PAULO GOVERNOR. FIGUEIREDO
ANSWERED, "I AM NOT WORRIED ABOUT PROFILES. I AM WORRIED ABOUT
SELECTING SOMEONE CAPABLE OF HELPING ARENA WHEREVER POSSIBLE".
THE REPORTERS QUESTIONED WHETHER FIGUEIREDO WAS CONCERNED WITH
CHOOSING SOMEONE COMPETENT FOR THE JOB: "AND WHAT GOOD DOES IT DO
TO CHOOSE SOMEONE COMPETENT AND LOSE THE ELECTION?" FIGUEIREDO:
"SEE HERE, I SAID THAT I WAS GOING TO CHOOSE, AMONG THE MOST
CAPABLE, PEOPLE CAPABLE OF HELPING ARENA WIN. I DID NOT SAY
THAT I WILL SELECT INCOMPETENT ADMINISTRATORS". THE REPORTERS WANTED
TO KNOW IF FIGUEIREDO AGREED THAT THE CURRENT SYSTEM OF SELECTING
GOVERNORS WAS WORSE THAN THE OLD SYSTEM. FIGUEIREDO REPLIED,
"I THINK THAT THERE WERE BAD CHOICES IN BOTH CASES. BUT I AM IN
FAVOR OF DIRECT ELECTION OF GOVERNORS...(BUT) NOT THIS TIME AROUND,
BECAUSE THERE IS NOT TIME."

4. ON THE OPPOSITION AND CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS. ASKED WHAT
WOULD HAPPEN IF ARENA LOST THE NOVEMBER CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS,
FIGUEIREDO STATED "WHAT I HAVE SAID IS THAT EVERYTHING WILL
BECOME MORE DIFFICULT IF THE MDB WINS, BECAUSE WINNING, THE MDB
WILL NOT WANT TO GIVE IN AND I SAY THAT EVERYONE NEEDS TO GIVE
A LITTLE." FIGUEIREDO SAID "IT WOULDN'T WORK" IF THE MDB
DEMANDED PRECONDITIONS FOR DISCUSSING REFORMS WITH THE GOVERNMENT.
"THE MDB HAS NOT YET REALIZED THAT IT IS A PRY OF THE REVOLUTION,
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CREATED BY THE REVOLUTION: A MINORITY WITHIN THE MDB DOES NOT ACCEPT THE REVOLUTION AND CONTESTS IT SYSTEMATICALLY. LOOK, FOR EXAMPLE, THEY ASKED FOR AMPLE, GENERAL AND UNRESTRICTED AMNESTY. ARE WE THEN GOING TO AMNESTY ASSASSINS, BANK ROBBERS?" THE REPORTERS CONCLUDED THAT FIGUEIREDO WAS SAYING THAT A POLITICAL OPENING WOULD ONLY OCCUR IF ARENA WON THE ELECTIONS. FIGUEIREDO REPLIED, "NO, THE MDB IS THE ONE THAT IS READICALIZING THE SITUATION... LOOK HERE, IF THE MDB WINS, AND ADDS TO THIS THE QUESTION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, WELL, THE MILITARY IS NOT PREPARED FOR THIS. THAT'S WHEN THE WHOLE THING BLOWS UP: EITHER I EXPLODE WITH IT OR I GET TOGETHER WITH THEM AND WE GO TO A REGIME THAT IS MUCH WORSE THAN THIS ONE".

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

5. ON AMNESTY. IN ADDITION TO HIS COMMENTS ON AMNESTY CITED

ABOVE, FIGUEIREDO STATED TO JORNAL DO BRASIL: "ONE CAN THINK ABOUT THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE LIMITATION ON THE ELECTION OF CASSATED PERSONS WHO HAVE FULFILLED THEIR TIME OF PUNISHMENT. ARTICLE 185 OF THE CONSTITUTION, WHICH MAKES CASSATED PERSONS INELIGIBLE, CAN BE CHANGED AND THIS WOULD BE A FIRST STEP." TO FOLHA, FIGUEIREDO SPOKE ABOUT CASSATION OF MILITARY OFFICERS: "I SAW FRIENDS OF 30 YEARS STANDING BEING CASSATED, OF SOME I KNEW THEIR SINS AND I THOUGHT THAT THEY MERITED BEING CASSATED. WE MILITARY DO NOT REACT WITH "ESPRIT DE CORPS" WHEN WE KNOW THAT ONE OF US HAS TRANSGRESSED THE LAW. NOW OTHER MILITARY FRIENDS OF MINE WERE CASSATED AND I THOUGHT THAT IT WAS UNJUST. UNCLASSIFIED

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STILL OTHERS WERE AND I REMAINED IN DOUBT. I REMAINED IN DOUBT." FIGUEIREDO WAS ASKED BY VEJA TO COMMENT FURTHER ON THESE REMARKS: "I CONSIDERED SOME JUST, UNJUST, OR I HAD MY DOUBTS, IT IS NECESSARY TO MAKE CLEAR, FROM MY POINT OF VIEW, WITHOUT KNOWING DETAILS. FROM MY POINT OF VIEW, WITHOUT KNOWING THE TRUE STORY, I WOULD SAY: THE ARMY WILL LOSE A GREAT OFFICER. IT WAS WITH BITTERNESS, I CONFESS, THAT I SAW SOME COMPANIONS REMOVED". VEJA ASKED WHETHER THAT WAS NOT A REASON FOR REVIEWING THE PUNISHMENTS: "THE REVIEW OF PUNISHMENTS WHICH I THOUGHT ABOUT, I HAVE THOUGHT A LOT, IS NOT EASY. THERE ARE THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT A REVIEW COULD COMMIT GREATER INJUSTICES, GIVING AMNESTY TO THOSE WHO DON'T MERIT IT AND NOT GIVING IT TO THOSE WHO DO. IT WOULD BE GOOD IF A REVIEW WERE POSSIBLE. I WON'T SAY THAT IT IS. BUT IT WOULD BE GOOD". ASKED ON WHAT IT WOULD DEPEND, FIGUEIREDO SAID: "THE JURISTS WILL KNOW. BUT I READ, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT RAYMUNDO FAORO, (PRESIDENT OF BRAZILIAN BAR ASSOCIATION) WHO IS A VERY COMPETENT MAN, THINKS A REVIEW IS IMPOSSIBLE."

6. ON PARTY REFORM. FIGUEIREDO TOLD "O ESTADO" THAT HE WAS IN FAVOR OF INCREASING THE NUMBER OF POLITICAL PARTIES BECAUSE "A TWO PARTY SYSTEM DETERMINES THAT ONE GROUP IS IN FAVOR OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OTHER AGAINST AND THAT CAN'T BE... I DID NOT ACCEPT (THE IDEA THAT) ONE PARTY CAN BE AGAINST THE REVOLUTION, WHICH OUGHT TO HOVER ABOVE THE PARTIES AS A GREATER IDEA AND INSPIRATION. ALL THE PARTIES, WITHOUT ANY BELONGING TO THE GOVERNMENT, MUST ACCEPT THE REVOLUTION AS A GREATER REALITY, NECESSARY TO THE NATIONAL RECUPERATION WHICH IS PROMOTING OUR TRANSFORMATION INTO A GREAT POWER...." HOWEVER, "O ESTADO" REPORTED THAT FIGUEIREDO REFUSED TO SPECULATE ON THE IDEAL NUMBER OF PARTIES. (COMMENT: EARLIER, HE HAD INDICATED THAT FIVE MIGHT BE A GOOD NUMBER: RIGHT, LEFT, CENTER, AND BOTH EXTREMES.)

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7. ON JUSTIFICATION FOR HIS SELECTION, MILITARY AND POPULAR SUPPORT. "O ESTADO" ASSERTED THAT FIGUEIREDO WAS CONCERNED WITH JUSTIFYING THE LEGITIMACY OF HIS SELECTION BY PRESIDENT GEISEL. FIGUEIREDO REPORTEDLY AFFIRMED THAT HIS LEGITIMACY WAS REVOLUTIONARY, AND THAT PRESIDENT GEISEL SOUNDED OUT REVOLUTIONARY CIRCLES BEFORE TAKING HIS DECISION: "POPULAR SUPPORT IS AN UNKNOWN FOR ME. I NEVER WAS A CANDIDATE FOR ELECTIVE OFFICES AND BECAUSE OF THIS, I DO NOT JUDGE MYSELF POPULAR... AS FOR MILITARY SUPPORT, I FEEL I HAVE IT". ASKED BY FOLHA WHETHER MILITARY PROMOTIONS WERE BECOMING POLITICIZED, FIGUEIREDO REPLIED "NO, THE LAW IS VERY CLEAR: THE PRESIDENT CHOOSES GENERALS OF THE ARMY FREELY FROM AMONG THE NAMES PRESENTED TO HIM... NOW, THERE IS NO POLITICIZATION OF PROMOTIONS." FIGUEIREDO WAS QUOTED BY FOLHA AS STATING "LOOK, THESE ANALYSES MAY EVEN BE RIGHT AND MY GOVERNMENT MAY BE POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY WEAK. BUT I WANT TO PAY TO SEE." ON PUBLIC OPINION, HE WAS CITED AS SAYING "PUBLIC OPINION DOESN'T EXIST. 697 (JOURNALISTS) CREATE IT. IF YOU WANT, YOU CHANGE PUBLIC OPINION." ON CENSORSHIP, FIGUEIREDO TOLD "ISTO E": "I DON'T LIKE CENSORSHIP. I NEVER DID. IT'S FUNNY, MANY PEOPLE WITHOUT KNOWING ME, DON'T BELIEVE THIS. PRESS CENSORSHIP CAN BE RESOLVED BY BRINGING THE SPECIFIC LAW UP TO DATE..."

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

8. ON UNIONS AND STUDENTS. ASKED WHETHER HE SUPPORTED THE PRINCIPLES OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, FIGUEIREDO REPLIED, "YES. NOW, ONE ALWAYS NEEDS TO HAVE SOMEONE TO ARBITRATE THIS, BECAUSE BETWEEN A GROUP OF RADICAL WORKERS THAT ONLY WANT AN INCREASE, AND A GROUP OF 'SHARKS' WHO DON'T WANT TO GIVE ANY INCREASE, ONE NEEDS THE MEDIATION OF THE LABOR MINISTRY. IF THERE IS AN IMPASSE, THE TWO SIDES GO TO THE LABOR COURTS". ON THE RIGHT TO STRIKE: "I BELIEVE WORKERS NEED TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, WHEN THE OTHER COURSES OF ACTION, THE NEGOTIATIONS, HAVE COME TO AN END. BUT I CANNOT CONCEIVE OF A STRIKE IN SECTORS VITAL FOR THE COMMUNITY". TO "ISTO E", FIGUEIREDO STATED THT HE THOUGHT UNIONS SHOULD B FREE TO NEGOTIATE WITH EMPLOYERS, UNCLASSIFIED

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BUT SHOULD NOT ENGAGE IN POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVITY. ON STUDENT POLITICAL ACTIVITY, FIGUEIREDO REPORTEDLY SAID, "I AM IN FAVOR OF ANY STUDENT MANIFESTATION, AS LONG AS IT IS ON CAMPUS."

9. ON STATE ENTERPRISE VERSUS PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. TO "O ESTADO", FIGUEIREDO REPORTEDLY STATED "(THOSE BUSINESSMEN) WHO COMPLAIN ABOUT STATE OWNERSHIP ARE RIGHT, IN PART. CONTINGENCIES AND THE INHERITANCE OF THE PAST OBLIGE THE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THIS POSTURE. THERE ARE THOSE PIONEER INVESTMENTS, THOSE WHICH DEMAND THE PRESENCE OF THE STATE, BECAUSE OF THE AMOUNT OF CAPITAL DEMANDED AND THE RISKS IT IMPLIES. THE BAD PART IS THAT IT KEPT GROWING, DEMANDING EVER GREATER RESOURCES. BUT I ASK THOSE WHO PREACH A SURGICAL MOVE AGAINST STATE OWNERSHIP: "WHO TODAY HAS THE RESOURCES TO BUY THE NATIONAL STEEL COMPANY OR PETROBRAS?" IN " O ESTADO", FIGUEIREDO SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT HE HAD THE SUPPORT OF NATIONAL (BRAZILIAN) BUSINESSMEN, BUT DIVIDED THEM INTO TWO KINDS: "THE IRRITATED ONES AND THOSE WHO SEEK TO UNDERSTNAD THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS." IN FOLHA, FIGUEIREDO QUALIFIED HIS IDEA FURTHER: "TO TURN OVER TO A BUSINESSMAN THAT WHICH IS EFFICIENT DUE TO GOVERNMENT MONEY, OR TO THOSE WHO ARE EFFICIENT BECAUSE THEY ARE FRONTING FOR MULTINATIONALS, WE CAN'T DO IT."

10. ON AGRICULTURE. "O ESTADO" REPORTED THAT INCREASING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION WAS A TOP PRIORITY FOR FIGUEIREDO. STATING THAT HE FOUND THE EXISTENCE OF HUNGER IN THE COUNTRY INADMISSABLE, FIGUEIREDO WAS CITED AS SAYING: "...EVERY EFFORT WILL GO TO AUGMENTING PRODUCTION. FOREIGN CAPITAL CAN HELP, NOT AS A GENERIC INVESTMENT, BUT THROUGH SPECIFIC LOANS. THE PRESENCE

OF MULTINATIONALS IN THE SECTOR ON A LARGE SCALE IS BAD, SINCE WE COULD LOSE THE NECESSARY CONTROL OVER PRICES. BUT WE WILL SEEK EXTENAL RESOURCES FOR FOOD PRODUCTION, NOT ONLY TO MEET INTERNAL NEEDS -- WE PLAN TO SUBSIDIZE CERTAIN BASIC PRODUCTS --
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BUT ALSO TO INCREASE OUR EXPORT POTENTIAL." IN THE FOLHA INTERVIEW, FIGUEIREDO TALKED ABOUT THE DIFFICULTIES OF CARRYING OUT AN AGRARIAN REFORM. THE REPORTERS SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. HAD ACHIEVED ONE: "WELL, BUT YOU THINK THAT THIS IS SIMPLE? THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM IN THE U.S. TURNED INTO A WAR WITH MEXICO, THOUSANDS OF DEATHS AND THE ANNEXATION OF THE MEXICAN TERRITORIES OF CALIFORNIA, TEXAS, NEW MEXICO COST A LOT OF BLOOD FOR TH U.S. BY THE WAY, NO AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY IS MORE DIRECTED BY THE STATE THAN THE NORTH AMERICAN, NOT EVEN THE SOVIET ONE." THE REPORTERS ASKED FIGUEIREDO IF HE WAS AGAINST THAT AND HE REPLIED, "NO", THEN COMPARED AT LENGTH THE DIFFERENT MENTALITIES OF BRAZILIAN AND AMERICAN FARMERS, THE FORMER BING RELUCTANT TO FOLLOW THE GOVERNMENT'S LEAD.

11. ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS. GEN. FIGUEIREDO REPORTEDLY TOLD "VEJA": "THE CURRENT FOREIGN POLICY IS RIGHT: GETTING ALONG WITH EVERYONE, HAVING COMMERCE WITH EVERYONE, RESPECT FOR ALL AS LONG AS THEY RESPECT US. THERE IS NO REASON FOR US NOT TO BE EVERYONE'S FRIEND. NOW, IF IS NECESSARY THAT THE OTHERS UNDERSTAND OUR PROBLEMS." "VEJA" ASKED IF THIS WERE A REFERECNE TO THE UNITED STATES: "NO, I AM SPEAKING IN A GENERAL WAY. WE HAVE BEEN ALLIES OF THE UNITED STATES FOR CENTURIES. THEY HAVE NO DOUBT OF THAT. WE NEVER STOPPED SUPPORTING THE WEST AND WE SHOULD KEEP IT THAT WAY. GLOBAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE ONE THING. OUR INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND OUR INTERESTS ARE ANOTHER." AT DIPLOMAT DAY CEREMONIES ON APRIL 20, FIGUEIREDO REPORTEDLY STATED: "I WILL RETAIN THE CURRENT FOREIGN POLICY AND WITH INFLEXIBILITY."
CHAPIN

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